/66 cont./
000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
• [567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are
[648] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[531] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
• [567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pira-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/81 cont./

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a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1)), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. Even today many adult persons (and lately, because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom.

[191]

[115] [648] [567]

According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with old Justino from Iuquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay. "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19).

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã,

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Vol. II, n. 5, p. 14). Foreseeing the attacks, he would proclaim beforehand his relations with God, by whose order he would demand payment from the Indians in exchange for the forgiveness of sins. At such news, the forest dwellers would go to see him from wherever they were found. The Missionary Frei Manuel de Santana Salgado, who, at the request of Pe. Romualdo, handicapped by illness, had replaced him, threatening police intervention, forced Venâncio to withdraw to Venezuela. Again during the journey of Frei Salgado another similar religious movement appeared near the "Povoação da Guia" /Town of the Leader/, on the igarapé Pirá-iauára. This time the protagonist was a Brazilian Indian, also named Venâncio, "who called himself Padre Santo enviado de Christo" /Holy Father sent by Christ/, and "the repetition of such acts took place, and it was there that the public confessions, divorces, and new marriages were made, all this being followed by profane entertainments with dances, eating and drinking, which also was practiced on the Cuiary in /320/ consequence of the teaching of the doctrine and the supposed miracles of the so-called Christ."

In his report dated from Cunury (river Uaupés) on April 12 of 1859, Pe. Romualdo told that Indians of several tribes were gathered in Juquira-rapecuma, on the Uaupés, "worshiping another Christ who had appeared there, practicing the same that had happened on Igarapé Piraiauára, on the Içana, that is, baptizing, marrying, etc., that this gathering numbered over a thousand persons armed with firearms and curabís (arrows with poisoned tips), prepared to resist the officials, in case they went there, as had happened on the Içana, that they would wait right there for the whites."

Indeed, Frei Salgado was received hostilely and had to withdraw in danger of his life on March 3, 1858. "According to what has been reported," proceeds the Relatório, "and is taken as certain, the Christ is an Indian, a native of the Uaupés, who resided in the district of Marabitanas, well known there by everyone, called Alexandre. In the retinue of the Christ," concludes the Relatório (Archivo do

4: Silva--471 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/320 cont./

177 792 [567] Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90) "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe (Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sêwa by name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort). Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself, taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint" Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies. Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

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/374 cont./

121 266 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 721 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana: --"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals. They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

[727] [567]

266 648 726 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/ and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

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*[192] 115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b)), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

• 567 The Maku maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

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588 When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

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588 The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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4: Silva--706 [illegible], 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/463 cont./

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son, Manoel Silgueira, imposing on him the following conditions:

1st. -- To care for the Chapel and the Missionary's house.

2nd. -- To oblige the residents of the said Mission to finish making the houses started, even to make those which they have not had made.

3rd. -- To divide the Mission into streets, during the building of the houses.

4th. -- Every three months, to send (if the Missionary P. is not present) a resident from here to where the Padre is, in order to report the deaths, births, and the usual news during the said three months.

5th. -- To oblige everyone to make their clearings for their own maintenance, and in order to provide for their necessities.

[567] 6th. -- To forbid absolutely the sale of the Macú natives, as well as to impede, in any way possible, the so-called pega-pega /Port. pega, fetters for fugitive slaves/.

/464/ 7th. -- Finally, in case of necessity, to provide people for public service, that is to say, when the Missionary arrives, he must give the people whom he wants for his passage.

In the firm conviction that the said Sr. Principal will fulfill the conditions indicated above, I pass to him this document, in the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara on the fifth day of the month of December of 1882.

Sgd. Frei Venancio Zilocchi
Miss. Ap. Pno.

To Capitão João Silgueira, Sr. Principal of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara (a lapis).

Visa P. João Bálzola Salesian
August 7, 1923

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3)).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meet-
578 ings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves
[115] the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand-
[192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women are called ukhá.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just
565 as there are no slaves (105);
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105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

/468 cont./

565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of property and of work.

• 567 Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant provisioning [578] and the development of riches. Now, where there are no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves; [692] 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an [622] organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large communal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yuri*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans. As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the complex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of culture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1962
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO
MACU SQ10

were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórü* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO
MACU SQ10

day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mɨ́hamɔ́tewu yawiwũ*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

pwɨ́ntewũ – the people came out
tcũntcawu – and shed (their anaconda skins)
hahádami – they went forward
waré borikapindo – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
opɨ́ko tamána – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opɨ́ko*])
emintakori – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
kanúrũbo – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
bwũhũrũkũwũ – the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwũ*)
byátakwe – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
kwábebo – the place of *Kwákũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
borikabo – the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
opɨ́ko tawá – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakũ* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
nahó pwãnwa – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
bwũtaunrũ – the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwũ* passed beneath it)
bwũtaunrũ – the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
wookún – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)